

**GELAGAT PASCA PENGUNDIAN DI BUKIT GANTANG,
PERAK PADA PILIHAN RAYA UMUM 2008 BERDASARKAN
MODEL PEMASARAN HIRSCHMAN**

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ABSTRAK

Kajian mengenai gelagat pengundi kini semakin penting di Malaysia ekoran perubahan-perubahan besar yang berlaku dalam landskap politik Malaysia. Buat pertama kalinya dalam sejarah politik Malaysia, Barisan Nasional dinafikan majoriti dua pertiga dalam Parlimen dan kehilangan lima negeri yang strategik. Semua pihak berkepentingan ingin mengetahui sama ada perubahan yang berlaku itu bersifat kekal, atau hanyalah satu fenomena sementara dan boleh berubah dalam pilihanraya umum berikutnya. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan pemasaran dalam memahami gelagat pengundi di Malaysia. Dengan menggunakan Model Hirschman sebagai kerangka analisis dan pengundi di Parlimen Bukit Gantang sebagai sampel, kajian ini mengadaptasi Gelagat Pascapembelian dalam bidang pemasaran bagi mengkaji gelagat pengundi Pasca-pilihan Raya Umum 2008. Kajian ini seterusnya membina dan mentakrifkan konsep Gelagat Pascapengundian bagi melihat sejauh mana kebergunaan dan keberkesanan model Hirschman tersebut dalam menanggapi dan memahami gelagat pengundi pascapilihanraya, sekali gus melihat keupayaannya dalam memberikan petunjuk kepada tren pengundian mereka dalam pilihanraya yang akan datang. Kedua-dua kaedah kuantitatif dan kualitatif digunakan dalam mengumpul data kajian. Sebanyak seribu lima ratus responden pengundi telah dipilih menerusi kaedah pensampelan sistematik. Perisian SPSS digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Sesi temu bual dilakukan bersama dengan pakar akademik dan Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri Perak. Kajian ini menghujahkan bahawa Gelagat Pasca Pengundian mempunyai kaitan dengan Ciri-ciri Partidan Ciri-ciri Pengundi. Rumusan kajian menunjukkan bahawa teori Hirschman adalah relevan untuk mengukur Gelagat Pascapengundian. Oleh itu, terdapat tiga responsi iaitu Keluar, Suara dan Kesetiaan yang telah dicadangkan dalam teori tersebut dapat dijadikan sebagai asas kepada gelagat pengundi selepas sesuatu pilihanraya khususnya bagi pengundi di Malaysia. Kajian ini telah sekurang-kurangnya membuka satu dimensi baharu dalam kajian-kajian mengenai gelagat pengundian di Malaysia. Hasil kajian ini memperlihatkan bahawa beberapa aspek tertentu dalam bidang pemasaran berupaya diketengahkan bagi memberikan satu perspektif baharu kepada kefahaman mengenai politik pilihanraya dan gelagat mengundi rakyat Malaysia.

Kata kunci; *Pemasaran Politik, Gelagat Pascapengundian, Model Hirschman, Keluar, Suara, Kesetiaan.*

ABSTRACT

The study of voting behaviour is increasingly important in Malaysia due to the massive changes occurrence in the Malaysian political landscape. For the first time in the Malaysia's political history, the ruling party Barisan Nasional was denied a two-third majority in Parliament and lost five strategic states. The stakeholders were interested to know whether the changes that had occurred could sustain, or just a temporary phenomenon which would change in the next general election. This study used the marketing approach to understand voting behaviour in Malaysia. It involves the application of Hirschman model as a framework of analysis and voters of Parlimen Bukit Gantang were selected as the sample. In addition, this study attempts to adapt the Post Purchase Behaviour from the marketing field to examine the voters behaviour of the post 12th General Election. This study thus attempts to construct the concept of Post Voting Behaviour to identify to what extent the usefulness and effectiveness of Hirschman model in understanding the Post Voting Behaviour of voters and its capabilities in providing guidance to their voting trends in the next coming elections. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilised as sources of data collection. A total of one thousand and five hundred respondents was selected using systematic sampling method. SPSS software was used to analyse the data. Interviews were conducted with academic experts and Member of Legislative Assembly of Perak. The findings indicated that Post Voting Behaviour has a relationship with both Party Characteristics and Voter's Characteristics. Further, this study also concluded that Hirschman's theory is relevant in measuring the Post Voting Behaviour. Therefore, the three responses (Exit, Voice and Loyalty) that have been proposed in the theory could serve as a basis in understanding the behaviour shown by the voters after an election particularly in Malaysia. This study has at least opened a new dimension of research in exploring voter's behaviour in Malaysia. The results of this study showed that some specific aspects of marketing could be incorporated to give a new perspective in understanding electoral politics and voting behaviour of Malaysians citizens.

Keywords: *Political Marketing, Post Voting Behaviour, Hirschman Model, Exit, Voice, Loyalty.*

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Senarai Singkatan

AKIM	Angkatan Keadilan Insan Malaysia
AMIPF	<i>Malaysian Indian Progressive Front</i> atau Parti Barisan India Se-Malaysia
BA	Barisan Alternatif
BERJASA	Barisan Jemaah Islamiah Se-Malaysia
BN	Barisan Nasional
DAP	<i>Democratic Action Party Malaysia</i> atau Parti Tindakan Demokratik
EVL	Keluar (exit), Suara (voice) dan Kesetiaan (loyalty)
GERAKAN	<i>Malaysian People's Movement</i> atau Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia
KIMMA	Parti Kongress India Muslim Malaysia
KITA	Parti Kesejahteraan Insan Tanah Air
KMO	<i>Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin</i>
LDP	<i>Liberal Democratic Party</i> atau Parti Liberal Demokratik
MCA	<i>Malaysian Chinese Association</i> atau Persatuan Cina Malaysia
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress atau Kongres India Malaysia
MU	<i>Malayan Union</i>
MUPP atau BERSAMA	<i>Malaysia United People's Party</i> atau Parti Bersatu Sasa
PAF	<i>Principal Axis Factoring</i>
PAS	Parti Islam Semalaysia
PBB	Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu Sarawak
PBS	Sabah United Party atau Parti Bersatu Sabah
PCA	<i>Principal Components</i>
PKR	Parti Keadilan Rakyat
PPP	<i>People's Progressive Party</i> of Malaysia atau Parti Progresif Penduduk Malaysia
PR	Pakatan Rakyat
PRK	Pilihan Raya Kecil
PRM	Parti Rakyat Malaysia
PRS	Parti Rakyat Sarawak
PRU	Pilihan Raya Umum
PSM	Parti Sosialis Malaysia
SAPP	<i>Sabah Progressive Party</i> atau Parti Maju Sabah
SES	<i>Social Economic Status</i> atau Status Ekonomi Sosial
SNAP	Parti Kebangsaan Sarawak
SNAP	<i>Sarawak National Party</i> atau Parti Kebangsaan Sarawak
SPDP	<i>Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party</i> Parti Demokratik Progresif Sarawak
SPF	<i>Federation Sabah People Front</i> Party atau Parti Barisan Rakyat Sabah
SPR	Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya
STAR	<i>State Reform Party</i> atau Parti Reformasi Negeri
SUPP	<i>Sarawak United People's Party</i> atau Parti Rakyat Bersatu Sarawak
UMNO	<i>United Malays National Organisation</i> atau Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu
UPKO	<i>United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organization</i> atau Parti Pertubuhan Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Bersatu.
VIF	<i>Variance Inflation Factor</i> atau Faktor Inflasi Varian

BAB SATU

PENGENALAN

1.0 Pengenalan

Malaysia ialah sebuah negara yang mengamalkan sistem demokrasi berparlimen semenjak mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Semenjak tarikh itu, negara ini tidak pernah gagal mengadakan pilihan raya setiap lima tahun. Pada 8 Mac 2008, Malaysia telah mengadakan Pilihan Rayanya yang ke-12. Keputusan Pilihan Raya kali ini telah mengejutkan banyak pihak dan mencipta sejarah, serta mengubah landskap politik Malaysia. Antara keputusan yang mengejutkan ialah kerajaan Barisan Nasional (BN) buat kali pertama hilang majoriti 2/3 kerusi Parlimen; Wilayah Persekutuan dan empat buah negeri jatuh kepada Pakatan Rakyat (PR) iaitu negeri Kedah, Pulau Pinang, Perak dan Selangor; kemelut pelantikan Menteri Besar di Perlis, Terengganu dan Perak; corak pengundian dan sokongan kaum bukan Melayu yang merosot terhadap parti pemerintah. Selain itu, keputusan Pilihan Raya Umum ke-12 juga telah memberikan kesan pelbagai dimensi kepada pentadbiran negara, pentadbiran negeri, hubungan antara kaum dan parti pemerintah, iaitu BN. Senario ini telah menarik minat ramai penyelidik, penganalisis dan pemerhati politik baik dari dalam negara mahupun luar negara untuk mengetahui secara lebih mendalam mengenai gelagat mengundi di Malaysia. Persoalan yang sering diketengahkan ialah, apakah ini suatu trend yang akan bertahan lama atau bersifat sementara dan akan

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